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VOICES OF THE WINDS

By WILLIAM MOUNTAIN.

We are too full of sorrow, and the sun
Smites not rejoicing on our sullen eyes;
We are too fond of seeking, and the sea
Sings no triumphant anthem in our ears;
We are too lost in grubbing, and the woods
No longer lure our profit-sodden feet;
We are a race in bondage, and our gyves,
Though golden, bend us groaning to the grave.

The winds have voices, but we do not hear;
They cry to care: "Forget and follow us!
We are the children of the fields and streams,
We are the comrades of the hills and seas;
Our mission is to mock the dying years;
Earth old but ever young, we kiss the stars,
Shake fragrance from the bosom of the rose,
And touch the world with immortality."

The winds have voices, but we will not hear;
They call and every road invites us roam
To love's bright home whose dawns bring dreams to pass,
To that fair region whence we wander far,
Remembered faintly in each world-lost soul,
Dim, fading fast, but glorious in the glimpse
Of vivid moments when the heart leaps up
And answers to the voices of the winds.

I hear them call, and every sun-kissed sail
Dipping across the swollen twilight tide
Draws forth my life on crimson quest. They call!
The birds can answer with their screaming flight,
The clouds obey and float into the sun,
Or trail across the moon like midnight prayers.
All nature answers but the soul of man,
Who longs but cannot leave his lazy gods.

Awake! away! the voices call to you,
To wander and become a throbbing part
Of all sweet things life yields the hungry years;
To feel earth's pulse in cyclic rhythm beat
Beneath her sacred dust, each grain a heart,
The passionate heart of some wild wayfarer
In quest of peace, he found, if found at all,
In that last sunless, starless sleep of death;

To climb the heights above life's noise and fret,
With rapt prophetic eye behold the earth,—
The warm, the welcome, patient earth of man,
Scarred by his toil, made scarred by his blood;
To sit at eve and watch the lights leap forth,
And burn and fade and flicker into gloom,
In shadowy towns whose sad chimes voice the hush
Of honied twilight golden in its grief;

To clutch life in her naked strength and know
A deeper sense of vital common things;
To take the rough and smooth with equal faith,
Content with little and not proud with much;
To nurse your heart upon the hill's wild breast,
Beating in unison with better things,
Till it become the harbor of the dreams
And aspirations of time's wisest souls,—

The spirits of the mighty dead whose feet
Have kissed the stony highways of the world,
Divine outcasts, forgotten or betrayed,
Careless of life's rewards, who wend their way
With cosmic disregard and starry faith,—
Companions brave whose lonely muttered prayers
Become the battle hymns that nations sing
When whirlwind-like they shatter thrones and creeds.

The forests whisper and the rivers plead:
"All palaces are prisons to the free,
Whose hopes o'erleap life's fetters, and whose hearts
Beat yearning toward that nameless goal where suns
And seas melt in a golden dream, and love,
Grown strong with tears and wiser through the years,
Alone upon the silent verge of night,
Looks out and sees the vision of the stars."

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OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

We doubt whether it were possible twenty years ago for a high officer of the army to suggest the introduction into this country of the outrageous European system of conscription, or compulsory military service. Under no previous régime, not even under that of the plutocratic President McKinley, would anybody have dared to insult the nation by such a suggestion as was recently made officially to the War Department.

Indeed, you shall know the tree by its fruit. An impartial examination of Roosevelt's administration clearly establishes this all-important fact: the anti-social spirit of imperialism and militarism has found its most determined exponent in the Rough Rider. The last vestiges of American liberty are being summarily annihilated, and if the people do not at once take a determined stand against the encroachments of militarism, they will soon find themselves bound hand and foot.

It has been well said that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance. Where are the liberty-loving Americans to raise their voice in a thunderous protest against this no less humiliating than dangerous suggestion of converting the citizen into a professional murderer, whenever the White House clique will deem conscription timely? The first step in that direction has already been made. There is a law on the national statute books, according to which every citizen between eighteen and forty-five years of age can be made a soldier and impressed into service at any time. That is the so-called Dick Military law, passed by Congress and signed by the President in a quiet, sneaking manner. Not one man in a thousand is aware of the existence of this outrageous statute; but the people will

quickly realize its sinister meaning once the law is put into operation. But then it may be too late. The time for a mighty protest is *now*—let the people as one man raise their voice against this systematic, Jesuit-like undermining of the spirit of liberty.

The matter concerns the nation as a whole. But the working class especially must realize the dire peril threatening organized labor from this spectre of imperialism and militarism. We sound the warning note to you, workingmen of America: the capitalist class is forging these new chains for labor. Awake and act—or it may soon be too late!

* * *

The experience of past generations echoes and re-echoes this one great lesson of all history: the persistence of the ideal. Prison and scaffold, guillotine and garrotte —how miserably impotent are they all to stifle the human aspirations towards liberty and joy! Persecution but serves to accentuate the ideal, to strengthen its votaries in their devotion and self-sacrifice.

The plutocracy of America is probably beginning to realize this eternal truth. Twenty years ago they successfully strangled, they thought, the voice of Anarchism. But lo! the blood of the martyrs has proven the seed of the Church. Out of the silent graves have grown, hundredfold, the crimson blossoms, and the winds of time have carried the fructifying pollen far and wide—Anarchy lives!

It were too much, however, to expect the police providence of New York to appreciate the lessons of history. Their vision does not transcend the station blotter; their interest is absorbed in the question of graft. But even graft is conditioned by a certain kind of zeal. It is necessary to remind the people, now and then, of the protecting activity of the Department. And it is equally necessary to improve the opportunity of impressing upon the people the liberty which we enjoy in the United States—hence a mass-meeting is prohibited and the majesty of the law once more vindicated by the big stick.

But nothing equals the arbitrariness and brutality of the police like their stupidity. Brute force made it impossible for us to hold the announced mass meeting at Manhattan Lyceum, in commemoration of the men

judicially strangled in 1887. But fortunately the Anarchists and their sympathizers possess more wit than police captains. *The meeting was held*, though in a different place. And although the police decreed, with transcendent wisdom, that *no English should be spoken* in a public meeting in New York, their orders were ignored, while the bluecoats were admonished to listen to the English speeches that they might for once in their lives hear the truth and profit thereby,—if possible for them.

But it is time to call a halt to the dictatorial proceedings of the New York Police Department which even invades our ballrooms and strives with all might to create trouble.* This "arm of the law" is a common disturber of the public peace. We hereby serve notice on Commissioner Bingham to call off his bloodhounds, the uniformed loafers, and we demand him to protect the public peace against the police ruffians.

* * *

This year's convention of the American Federation of Labor had a golden opportunity. It could have gone down in history as an epoch-making factor in the movement of organized labor. For many are the problems, many and serious indeed, that face the workingman and are awaiting intelligent and courageous solution. Unfortunately, however, it cannot be truthfully said that the convention will prove a milestone in the economic emancipation of labor.

We note with satisfaction, however, that the convention defeated the resolution in favor of government ownership of railways. It is to be hoped that the objection to the resolution was based on a thorough understanding of the true mission of government, as the servant of the capitalist class.

The arguments against the resolution were to the effect that if the railways were owned and operated by the government, all the railway workers would be govern-

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*Enraged by the perfect, really Anarchist order that prevailed in the ballroom, the police vented their spite by arresting comrade J. Edelson, absolutely without provocation, at 2 A. M. as he was about to leave the hall. A young lady, protesting against the clubbing of Edelson, was also arrested. Both were fined.

ment employees; then any organized attempt on their part to improve the conditions of labor by the strike or similar action would be construed as a seditious movement against the government and would be suppressed, as has been done in various European countries.

These are sound arguments. We trust that back of them is the realization that government and its ally, capitalism, are the eternal enemies of labor. Once this is thoroughly understood by the rank and file, and fearlessly acted upon, an important step will have been taken on the road to complete industrial emancipation.

We sincerely regret that the convention failed to officially honor the solemnity of the day on which it assembled. Had the delegates forgotten that it was the twentieth anniversary of the judicial murder of the martyrs of Chicago? Or perchance did they lack the courage of publicly bearing witness to their solidarity with those victims of capitalism?

In what cause did the Chicago Anarchists die? Were they not the foremost champions of labor? Had they not offered up their precious lives on the altar of the oppressed? Had they not suffered death in the very attempt to better the conditions of American labor?

The martyrs of 1887 forfeited their lives because of their courageous and intelligent devotion to the cause of the workingman. *It was they who inaugurated the eight-hour movement in this country.* They demanded, and taught the workingman to demand, more human conditions for the producers of all wealth. For this they died. Shall labor, then, which now enjoys the fruits of those noble men's lives and deaths, fail to appreciate their devotion and sacrifice? Shall the great central body of organized labor of America play the rôle of a Judas?

Reverently may we honor the memory of our noble dead.

* * *

A recent issue of the *American Industries*, the official organ of the National Manufacturers' Association, makes some very serious charges against Samuel Gompers and other labor officials of national reputation.

Mr. Gompers is charged with getting big private commissions on the great amount of printing given out by the A. F. of L., with being in various partnerships for

the issuing of official labor publications (in this case a facsimile of an alleged receipt, given by him for his share of profits in such a private undertaking, is printed), with being interested in schemes whereby enormous commissions are paid out to advertising agents for the *American Federationist* with the suggestion that out of it he gets thousands of dollars of graft, with selling printing privileges in connection with the souvenirs that were formerly gotten out and putting the money in his pocket, and with being guilty of many other offences, in his private and official capacity.

It has been argued in some quarters that, as the charges emanate from an unscrupulous and malevolent source, they could not be dignified by a denial. But such an argument is entirely fallacious. The allegations against Mr. Gompers are far too serious and the charges too specific to be ignored. As the official representative of an important labor body, Samuel Gompers owes it both to himself and to the American workingmen at large to clear himself entirely and absolutely of the charges made against him. The question of his honesty and integrity is at stake—he must *demand* an immediate and searching investigation by impartial persons.

We trust that Mr. Gompers will face the charges squarely, for the sake of the American labor movement.

We fondly hope that the good name of Mr. Gompers will soon be cleared. We offer our services as impartial investigators.

* * *

In a recent communication to the press a certain reverend gentleman takes pains to prove that the occupation of brakeman is more than twice as dangerous as the murderer's.

He supports his claim by figures. During the year 1904, out of 106,734 trainmen employed on the railways of the United States 3,632 were killed. During the same year 8,482 murders and homicides were committed in this country, for which crimes 116 persons were executed. In other words, during the year in question one brakeman in about thirty met his death, and one murderer in about seventy-three. Thus the brakeman's occupation is more than twice as dangerous as the murderer's.

The reverend is quite right. He might have added that not only brakemen, but workmen in scores of other trades and occupations are as brutally and recklessly sacrificed to the Moloch of greed. But what is the clergyman's remedy? He says:

"In view of the above facts, was I not right in urging upon the recent Diocesan Convention that to infuse a modicum of theistic morals into the teaching of the public schools would do no harm?"

Does the reverend idiot mean that by "infusing theistic morals" the brakeman would be saved from the crushing wheels? Or is he concerned only with saving the soul?

At the risk of shocking our sky-pilot we suggest that it would do no harm to infuse a modicum of respect for human life into the gold-dust heart of the capitalist and—a grain of sense into reverend heads.

* * *

Some parsons want to force religious instruction—especially their own particular brand—into the curriculum of our public schools. But why should Jewish or Mohammedan citizens be forced to pay for the Christian instruction of their children? And besides, what connection is there between education and religious instruction? Do they not mutually exclude each other?

The citizens who have the welfare of their children at heart will not permit the public schools to be converted into hot-beds of idolatry and jingoism.

* * *

A rather sensible question was asked by one of the participants at the Presbyterian Brotherhood, recently in session at Cincinnati, O. "How may one be a Christian and at the same time earn a living?" was the query. "I do not see how a man can be a Christian working for concerns which practically force him to steal and lie," argued the questioner.

We welcome most heartily this very unusual Christian display of honesty and common sense. The press dispatches report that "the debate was stopped by the operation of the two-minute rule." We regret that the brethren lacked the courage to go on record on this important question. Evidently they clearly realized the "danger" of such questions. For if a Christian is synonymous with an honest man, then how can a follower

of the Nazarene rob, steal and take advantage of the misfortune or needs of his fellow man?

But it were dangerous for divine and earthly parasitism to allow this question to be discussed. Has it not been said that the camel could as easily pass through the eye of a needle as a rich man land in heaven? An Oriental allegory which in modern speech has crystallized into the truism—property is theft.

* * *

The Pittsburg Railways Company, operating all the street car lines in that city, has served notice on its employees that it will rigidly enforce the rule against the use of cigarettes or liquor while the men are either *off* or *on duty*.

Of course, this is a free country. But even the plantation "nigger" was never such an abject slave in antebellum days as the American workingman is to-day, when his economic masters dare to commit such rape upon the manhood of labor.

* * *

We read in the press that—

"The Queen of Spain has not forgotten the dastardly act of the Anarchists on her wedding day. So when the visit to England was arranged she despatched her beloved baby two days ahead, safely and surreptitiously in the care of nurses and detectives. Then she and the King brought with them another baby, and it was only when Kensington Palace was reached that the devoted mother again clasped her own infant in her arms.

"Had the King and Queen been blown up with the substitute baby, the real one would have had a poor chance of recognition. It is easy to imagine the Carlist onslaught on such a pretender. But a mother's love did not concern itself with this. All she wanted was to safeguard her child.

"As a sidelight on this story it may be mentioned that the baby which accompanied the royal couple was constantly on show in Paris and was extensively photographed there in its nurse's arms when the party stopped there en route for England. Nobody there seemed to think it was a bogus prince."

It would be interesting to know whether the great "mother's love" paused to consider the feelings of that other mother whose baby she wilfully exposed to the danger of being blown up.

It is just such cruel and inhuman indifference to the lives of the "subjects" that may have prompted "the dastardly act of the Anarchists." "Dastardly," indeed,

when one thinks of a Morales, intelligent, brilliant, beautiful, with all the ease possible at his command, yet cheerfully laying down his life to avenge the crimes and brutalities committed by royal parasites upon the people of Spain.

Morales dastardly; and the Queen an "affectionate, loving mother," quite willing to sacrifice—not one, but thousands of innocent babes to save her "prince."

* * *

The idolatry of the golden calf has produced a goodly crop of evils. The spirit of commercialism has created and is fostering many forms of prostitution. But the most despicable prostitute—because the most corrupting and fatal in his wide influence—is the man who sells his pen for filthy lucre—the literary time-server, the deifier of the rich and powerful.

The author of the recently published "Ethics in Action" is making a bold bid as the heavyweight of the literary tenderloin. His pretended moral philosophy is a wild eulogy of Diaz, the Perfidious, the executioner of Mexico, the jailer of liberty, the torturer of helpless innocents. "The character of Porfirio Diaz," says this ethical author, "will serve as an example and a model of the virtues for the youth of the country"!

Well does the world know the character of Perfidious Diaz. Has he not throttled every free expression in Mexico? Has he not faithfully aided the home exploiters to press out the last drop of blood from widows and orphans? Has he not reduced labor to the last extremity, and steadily encouraged peonage, enslaving the country for the benefit of the ring of masters? Has he not thrown men and women by the hundreds into the prisons? Has he not ordered men to be tortured into alleged confessions? Has he not proven himself a Mexican Tsar, the hangman of his country?

There are naive people who believe that the province of literature is to emphasize what is beautiful and noble, to inspire mankind with the ideal, and by truthfully picturing the pettiness and sordidness of our lives to cultivate in us the ambition for better and higher things. In fine, literature means truth, real and possible—can one imagine a more pitiful, degraded sight than the literary prostitute?

CHRISTMAS ADVENTURES OF JESUS

SEVERAL weeks before the Christmas holidays Christ decided to descend on earth in human form, in order to inspect his work of salvation.

The first place he came to was Golgotha. He recognized it, as well as the entire neighborhood of Jerusalem, by the poverty and filth prevailing there. Those places had changed little during the two thousand years of Christianity's reign.

The heathens had disappeared; the Romans were not in evidence. Turks, Christians and Jews had taken their place; the disciples of Mahomed and of the Nazarene were bickering over the exclusive possession of the Holy Sepulcher.

"How anxious they are about me," thought Christ, deeply moved. But, upon closer inspection, he found that the monks and dervishes were quarreling because each side wanted to monopolize the legend of the angels for business purposes.

"Thus I serve these people as an advertisement to attract the gullible; how peculiar the success of my vicarious atonement!"

Then Christ asked to be told about the various religions.

He was shown a bottle containing the blood-drops of Gethsemane—the blood that man's fear had made him shed through the treachery of Judas Iscariot.

"Blood of *my* bleeding?" thought Jesus, gazing wonderingly at the strange-looking contents of the bottle. He soon learned that it was the blood of a sheep—a parallel to Christ, who was led to the block, the victim of calculating greed.

Then he was shown nails, the very ones with which he was crucified.

"How vicious to preserve these horrible things," thought Christ. He was mistaken, however; the nails he saw were of American manufacture, furnished to the foreign markets at lower prices than at home. They were probably a gift to the pious hucksters of Jerusalem by an American priest—no doubt, a disciple of Archbishop Ireland.

Among other things Christ saw the sacred head band-

age—English flannel—and the ointment with which the dead Saviour was anointed—the by-product of a renowned French soap factory.

"Swindle and graft, in my name," groaned Jesus. Depressed and weary, he went on his way.

A begging priest sent curses after the stranger who would not drop a coin into the box to help the Church.

* * *

Christ journeyed to Europe. On the way he made the acquaintance of a missionary, who enlarged upon the growth of Christian civilization among heathen and savage races.

"At first the Bible is introduced to them," said the missionary; "after that they are given in charge of Christian merchants, and finally Christian soldiers and cannons are sent to protect the interests of commerce and missionaries."

Christ marveled at such ingenuity. He pitied his folly in attempting to save these shrewd creatures.

Jesus visited every European country, everywhere hearing the complaint that the military and marine budgets were altogether inadequate to meet Christian demands. Every Christian government, to defend itself against its Christian neighbors, was calling for an increased, well-trained and disciplined army and navy, for the Christian mission of wholesale slaughter.

"Miserable wretches, they have converted my teachings into cannons and torpedoes!"

* * *

At Liverpool Jesus embarked for America. On board he observed that the passengers were rigidly separated into three classes: people of great means, persons with a limited income, and those stricken with the plague of poverty.

The latter were treated and fed like cattle, deprived of light and air, as if in punishment for their affliction.

The Saviour was filled with grief over his Christian children who weigh souls in the scales of dollars.

Arrived at Ellis Island, Jesus was taken before the Commissioner of Immigration and asked whether he had ever committed a crime or been in prison.

"I was condemned and sentenced to death."

"And were you pardoned?"

"Not so; I died on the cross as decreed by my judges."

The Commissioner wrote on his memorandum the word "Insane." Christ was ordered locked up and carefully guarded.

* * *

While in the observation ward the Nazarene had ample opportunity to study the representatives of various religious sects.

They all flocked to Ellis Island, ostensibly to comfort the sick and console the unfortunates. In reality, however, each sect was eager to profit by the immigrants. Those of the latter who were fortunate enough to pass the inquisition of the free Republic—especially if they had some money—were lured by their Christian advisers to Christian lodgings, where they were fed on many prayers and hymns, but little food. The places were generally as filthy as Jerusalem, and the air as foul and stifling as in the steerage. No wonder the poor victims seized the first opportunity to escape from such Christian care.

The pious sisters and brethren were keen to discover whether the immigrants had means. Those who had none served as material for employment bureaus, who supply their Christian patrons with cheap help.

All this was done in the name of Jesus, the "insane foreigner," who had taken men's sins upon him and who died for them on the cross.

* * *

One of the visiting reverends became interested in the "lunatic." He asked the prisoner if he had money. The Carpenter naively confessed that he had none. "How stupid to come to America!" exclaimed the preacher. "However, I shall try to get you out of this place," he continued. "You look so weak and delicate; else I might get you a job as bartender, driver or street cleaner. As it is, I will find something for you to do in our 'Refuge for Virtuous Young Sailors.' Your soft voice is just what we need to lead in prayer. Besides, you can help in the kitchen and make yourself generally useful."

The reverend called on the Commissioner and explained that the detained foreigner was a harmless crank, and that he would take charge of him.

Jesus was then allowed to land, and directed to the Refuge, but he failed to avail himself of the generously offered hospitality. His soul was filled with disgust at those who preached in his name.

* * *

He tramped the streets of New York, gazing at the rich display of Christmas wares, that were loudly heralded in the newspapers as wonderful bargains.

In a spirit of self-ridicule Christ thought: "My sacrifice was not in vain, after all. At least I serve as the unpaid agent of the department stores, and my name is a splendid advertising medium for Wanamaker, Siegel & Cooper, and other enterprising firms. Who dares say that I am not a success!"

Christ heard the word "panic," and saw everybody terrified at the thought of what it might mean to him—need, hunger and cold. "Another Christian arrangement! There seems to be a superfluity of everything. Why this teeth-clattering fear of want?"

One evening Jesus saw people entering a hall. He followed them. An Anarchist meeting was in progress. The Nazarene listened attentively to the speakers, and for the first time he felt as if a breath of his own spirit permeated the place. Various speakers were discussing the panic and demonstrating the inhumanity of forcing thousands to go hungry and naked, while an abundance of food, clothing and houses was within reach. They explained the criminal injustice of the prevailing system that enriches the few at the cost of the many. Jesus might have heard much more, but suddenly he beheld a uniformed mob rush into the hall with drawn clubs, dealing blows right and left and sparing no one, not even Christ himself.

The humble Nazarene realized that one daring to raise his voice in a Christian government in behalf of justice and humanity is handled even as he had been by the high courts of the Jews and Romans.

And Jesus knew that his work of salvation was bankrupt.

THE CRISIS

Properly speaking, under our present economic system society is always in the midst of a "crisis"; it is diseased to the core. It could not be otherwise.

Production is being carried on with absolute lack of system; it can be likened to that form of idiocy whose victims are wont to absorb everything within reach; hence constipation, nightmares and feverish temperature.

Production is not regulated by demand, but by speculation; the latter creates chaotic conditions and robs production of its real mission, that of supplying mankind with the necessities of life.

This mission could be fulfilled in a society based on Anarchist Communism, the supply being regulated by the social demand.

To-day production serves to create wealth for a small number of industrial and commercial robbers, and to exploit the real producer.

Such is the "normal" condition of the capitalistic system.

Economically viewed, it represents nothing but a chaos of enterprises, depending on the swindle of an artificial credit system.

The specific crisis which the country is now facing has been caused by the insanity of speculation; the latter has forced the disparity between real, solid values—the products of work—and the swindle-value of artificial credit to the breaking point, with the result of bankruptcy.

Credit is the bottomless tank of the Danaids; in it are dumped bank-notes, shares, bonds and greenbacks; these, according to our "solid economists," become "value" through the labor of the millions in factories and fields; or—popularly speaking—the labor of the propertyless wage-slaves must pay for the crimes of finance and the swindling operations of speculators.

Capitalist economy employs the methods of counterfeiters and forgers who circulate false money and draw cash without having made deposits.

Capitalists and governments do the same, on a larger scale. They circulate valueless scraps of paper under

the fraudulent supposition that the stupid producers will exchange solid values for them.

The courts prosecute the petty counterfeiter; but the governmental privilege of counterfeiting is left unmolested; indeed, it is judicially protected.

A crisis discloses this state of affairs and evaporates the "values" of the stock exchange like smoke. Bonds and notes become waste paper. In the financial world everybody clamors for gold, since the specific value of this metal alone covers the fictitious value stamped by speculation upon its circulating mediums.

The privileged counterfeiters run to cover. They suddenly become "honest" and try to quickly exchange their paper rags for gold. Tremblingly they gaze upon the mountains of "credit money," which has over night been transformed into waste basket material.

A crisis makes the people pay heavily for their stupid system of economics. Unfortunately, the innocent are made to suffer for the guilty. Possibly a few financial crooks will be arrested. A number of bank presidents will take a vacation in Europe; a few will commit suicide; but what does it all amount to compared to the misery of the real sufferers, the workers. After all, the fortunes some speculators will forfeit have been stolen from others. The wage slaves need fear no such calamity, since they have no wealth to lose. To them the crisis means lessened opportunity to sell their labor. It means hunger and destitution to their wives and little ones.

The lesson of every crisis consists in the unmasking of our fallacious economic system. The earth and all the wealth of nature still remain intact; they beckon to mankind to throw off its yoke and enjoy life without exploitation and robbery.

The crisis has come to awaken the masses from their apathy and indifference,—to revive their rebellious spirit, to stimulate them to independent action, and to help themselves to the good things of life.

ARE THERE NEW FIELDS FOR ANARCHIST ACTIVITY?

I HAVE often wondered why, with millions of people taking part in progressive and labor movements of all kinds, comparatively few accept Anarchism fully as we do. What is better known than the exploitation of labor by capital, the oppression of the individual by the State, to the student the least interested in social matters and to the practical observer of everyday life? Again, if Anarchist propaganda has not yet touched every remote place in all countries, there are numerous localities where it has been carried on for a generation and more, and even there it does not affect more than a certain proportion of the people. As long as I believed in unlimited possibilities of education and agitation, the fact stated was incomprehensible and disappointing to me. Some reasoning and observation led to an explanation satisfactory to me, which I now venture to place before others, eager to hear their opinion with regard to it.

What constitutes, after all, the essence of Anarchism? In all living organisms, to begin with the lowest, we notice three tendencies: that of appropriating and assimilating such surrounding matter which is most conducive to the well-being of the organism; that of extending its own sphere of action by expansion, overcoming obstacles whenever possible; and finally the strictest operation of heredity, surroundings, etc., tending to more and more differentiate organisms as generations pass on. In mankind these three tendencies take the form of the desire for material well-being in the largest sense, the desire for freedom, and the development of individuality, private, personal life replacing more and more the social, gregarious life of earlier times. Anarchism is the goal of this evolution, namely: the greatest amount of freedom and well-being made accessible to each individual in the particular form which will best harmonize with his individuality and enable it to reach the highest possible degree of perfection.

Anarchy, then, would be the state of things where each one reached the greatest happiness he would be capable to feel. It is useless to dream over the economic and

other bases of such a society, as there would necessarily be as many systems or ways of arranging matters as there will be individuals. Not only would this, and this alone, correspond to the practical wants of free men and women, but during the long period of winning over the more recalcitrant part of the population to Anarchism, the earlier Anarchists will not remain stationary and stagnant, but will march forward on their own part. Thus a state of equal development of all and corresponding equal economic, moral, etc., arrangements can never exist in the future—no more than they ever existed in the past or exist now.

These considerations, relating to future times which may yet be distant, lead me to have a closer look at men as they really are at present. They are all different, and, with the exception of those who are victims of the crimes of past and present ages against their natural development, on the way to further differentiation. The craving for well-being and freedom is active in all, but in each person in a different degree and proportion; moreover, surroundings, heredity, age and an infinite number of other causes, intensify these different degrees while some causes tend to attenuate the difference: similar material position, suggestion and persuasion, etc.; it is here where educational propaganda steps in, trying to create common feelings of solidarity, of enthusiasm, of sacrifice,—and fortunately it often succeeds in tearing a man from his isolation and enabling him to extend either his well-being, his freedom or his individuality by combining with others.

Even then, however, the particular proportion and degree in which a man cares for increasing his well-being and his freedom will determine in the end to what extent he accepts the demands of solidarity and sacrifice which his new ideas impress on him. No one can give more than is in him, and while his natural disposition will carry A to the highest degree of self-sacrifice, B will live along quietly, loving on, helping a little to the limited extent of his abilities; it may indeed be possible in exceptional moments, by exceptional means, to rouse B to actions of the A type, but he will soon relapse into his relative apathy, which is not his fault but the result of his disposition. Because these exceptional effects of

suggestion, etc., occur, we are too easily persuaded that education and agitation can to some considerable extent equalize natural differences of disposition. In reality, however, even among those who accept Anarchism, we have any amount of varieties—all are different, in fact, the moment they think and act for themselves.

Moreover, whilst an Anarchist of the golden age of real Anarchy will be the most harmonious and developed person conceivable, an Anarchist in our fighting days is from the beginning forced to cease to care much for his well-being and the cultivation of his individuality, and feels but inclined to manifest his desire for freedom by pulling down the prison walls of authority which crush all of us. This fighting attitude requires a certain mentality which all do not possess who otherwise care for freedom; as they lack very often other opportunities to manifest themselves, considerable influence that might advance the cause of Anarchism is lying waste. To be an Anarchist in our times requires, thus, a more than ordinary love of liberty, and our numbers will increase when these requirements of personal sacrifice once may become smaller.

For at present the desire for well-being weighs much stronger in the scale with the millions of organized workers who try before all to better their material position, and who will tell you that they "cannot afford" to look out for freedom at the same time. That a commercial age should have created this spirit of caring first for material advantages is as inevitable, unfortunately, as that ages of State oppression should have created that modern feeling of indifference against oppression the moment it is disguised by the veil of parliamentary government. I fear even that the wish of the great mass of the workers to have their revenge on society, which so long deprived them of everything, will make them hard masters in their turn, perpetuating class rule and authority just as the bourgeois, after paralyzing feudalism, did not inaugurate liberty but a class rule of their own; these tendencies are likely to overrule the efforts of earnest but not very numerous Socialists to establish their new society. What could Anarchists do against this action of immense masses over whom they have no control, who relegate the desire for freedom to

the background? Evidently, they could only continue their present work, which will then be as useful and necessary to rouse the slumbering forces of freedom and to expose and combat authority as it is now.

Socialists of the older type are in a similar position; after a century of propaganda they find that the overwhelming majority of their own followers cares for little more than some economic improvements which they expect to get without any serious effort of their own, by means of the ballot or by the worn-out routine methods of trade unionism. In some countries, it is true, large masses are ready, at a moment's notice, to begin General Strikes—France, Italy, Spain, to some extent Holland, Austria and French-speaking Switzerland are foremost in this respect; but that decisive step which theoretically seems so logical, so natural, the step from the General Strike to Revolution has never yet been taken,—not even in Russia in October, 1905, when the failure to make this step brought about all the disasters which befell revolutionary Russia since that date. Why was this step never taken? Simply because the great majority do not want to go farther, and the few who would are powerless.

It is commonly said that all progress is due to minorities. Of course it is; new ideas, new experiences, are the result of a complex of favorable circumstances that at first exist only in one or a few places. But the right of minorities is to be rejected on the same ground as the right of majorities; a minority has no more right to coerce a majority than vice versa. We all reject the tyranny of reactionary minorities; progressive minorities are in the same position: they must not become tyrannical. Anarchists before all must recognize this; for authoritarian measures may be imposed by the energy of despotic minorities; but how can freedom be imposed upon people who do not care for it sufficiently to get it themselves, to take it?

Look at science and ignorance—a parallel to Anarchism and the masses. Science does not argue with ignorance; it marches forward and sets an example by its results, and the less deep shades of ignorance by and by try to follow up. Free thought and religion is another parallel—some are able to free themselves from

the shackles of religious idiocy, large masses remain unable to do so. In both cases a modus vivendi is found by a sort of *mutual toleration:* compare the infamous brutality of ignorant bigotry against science and free thought in past centuries to the *relative* indifference that exists to-day in these matters. I know very well that it is only an armed peace and that reaction is lurking there, every instant waiting for her opportunity; but still the position is different from that of past ages—science and free thought have conquered general recognition, whilst they were outlawed but a short time ago.

What brought about these persecutions and this relative change? Ignorance and bigotry wanted to perpetuate their rule, and they believed that science and free thought were going to fight them directly; therefore they carried on a war of absolute extermination against them. Of course, free thought should like to destroy religion radically, absolutely, just as Anarchism should like to uproot the idea of authority definitely, and once for all. But this could only be achieved materially by the destruction of ninety-nine per cent. of mankind, and such a struggle—if it were possible—would destroy the sense of freedom in the remaining minority. It was seen by and by that science and free thought were as unable to destroy ignorance and religion as the latter, with all power at their disposal, could arrest the progress of science and crush free thought. Hence this state of a *relative* cessation of hostilities of to-day, with continuous propaganda and small warfare going on on both sides, by which those who are really *capable* and *desirous* of clearing the cobwebs of ignorance and bigotry out of their minds, have a chance to find their way to science and free thought. This is all that progress could obtain on this field—will it really be different with regard to Anarchism?

The destruction of the capitalist system is but one step on the road to Anarchism. Energetic minorities carry great weight in the moment of immediate action; suppose, then, that Anarchists did their best, that the system *is* overthrown and that the prestige of Anarchism has grown enormously by its prominent part in that victory; suppose, further, that in many places people lay aside all their prejudices and try to live in an Anarchist way;

will not all these arrangements for which, evidently, no rules would be laid down by any leading people, result very soon in new differentiation as people are differently developed in various ways? Take the question of organization; some Anarchists are ready to accept various degrees of organization, provided only they freely consent to it; others are not. A series of groups and communities would thus exist in which freedom was realized in a different degree, according to the various interpretations given to it by various people, etc. This is quite the right thing; experience will bring further results, and by and by freedom will be more fully understood and more perfectly realized; meanwhile all these organisms would *co-exist* side by side of each other in peaceful emulation, though many institutions may not at all satisfy the more advanced, who, in their turn, will not yet be fully appreciated by the less advanced.

I selected this as the most fortunate eventuality. It may happen, however, that capitalism is defeated under conditions which bring the organized State Socialist masses, that is, their leaders, into power, and whilst direct economic exploitation would be abolished, freedom would not exist and a new governing class would gradually grow up, a new set of parasites whom labor would have to feed. Anarchists would hardly be more welcome to these people than they are to-day to official and labor politicians. They would have to strike to overthrow that new society, too: whether this will be more easy than the first struggle—as people may be more educated, having no economic cares, or more difficult, as people, satisfied economically, would not care to move any farther—I cannot decide; I suppose both will be the case, and progress toward reducing and abolishing the power of the new States, communes, etc., will be made first locally. Thus here also differentiation will take place and Anarchism can but hope to be realized to some degree, first, in the most advanced parts, under most favorable conditions.

If these are the likely results of an effective and definite overthrow of capitalism, the problem arises for me: *In what way can Anarchists already now conform their methods of action to these probable developments*—namely, to the fact, in my opinion inevitable, that their ideas will

not be fully realized at the beginning of a new society, that they will have to live, as to-day, side by side with persons who are, in various degrees, adversaries of their ideas, or as yet very imperfect interpreters thereof?

The right step to take would be, in my opinion, to get used to the idea of *co-existing* with not Anarchist institutions—in other words, to *mutual toleration.* We do this already practically every day, with the exception of those whom indignation drives to direct acts of revolt. It is infinitely far from my thought to mean by this submission to law and authority. On the contrary, I mean that Anarchists should boldly ignore all laws interfering with their personal freedom and conquer the full recognition of their right to do so by those who, themselves, are in favor of these laws and might have them in operation among those who believe in them.

This will sound quite utopian and impractical to many, but sooner or later, either with regard to the present or some Socialistically modified system, Anarchists will have to take up such an attitude which, side by side with economic independence secured in various ways of co-operation, will bring about the first direct realization of Anarchism, however imperfect it may be. Possibly, if this happens after a social revolution they may, by means of expropriation, get hold of sufficient land, instruments of production, etc., to have a safe economic basis; possibly also, they will have to construct this basis by the slow process of co-operation, and a beginning might be made even now when most Anarchists are scattered in various branches of capitalist production. For just as Anarchist members of trade unions become, as such, solidaric with large masses of workers and share in the united power which for themselves alone they do not possess; in the same way this systematic objection to existing laws would create links of solidarity between them and numerous people of all classes who object to, at any rate, a portion of the existing laws; just as trade unionists on the average are not Socialists, but object only to certain features of the capitalist system and yet, leavened by Socialists and Anarchists, they are expected some day to overthrow this system. In the same way, all those who do not like laws—and who has ever met with people not personally

interested who *did* like laws for themselves?—all these discontented masses about whom nobody cares to-day, might form enormous anti-law or anti-State associations, inspired by Anarchists, and striving, finally, to overthrow all laws as the economic associations of workers will finally reject and overthrow all capitalism. Direct action, strike and boycott would be means in this anti-law, anti-political struggle, as they are in the economic struggle.

Nor is this something new, unheard of. Whenever a law had really become intolerable to large masses of people, they have always adopted some method of systematically violating or ignoring it. The history of the old Abolitionists, of the Irish movement, etc., is full of examples, and it is the same in private life. In fact, if statistics were available as to the large extent in which laws and regulations are habitually ignored and remain a dead letter, I think the absurdity of law-making would be palpable to almost all, which shows that society cannot live and evolve under law, but only by brushing aside—at every moment, as useless obstacles—regulations and laws. When, in England, people may be exempted from the vaccination laws if they declare to have a "conscientious objection" against vaccination, is this really not a step in the right direction, and if the adherents of other causes had made similar efforts to have laws which they are not strong enough to abolish—and which suit the convenience of others who think different—to have such laws at any rate made *not applicable to them*, they might have achieved similar results, and that is what I urge upon them all to do with the greatest possible energy and on the broadest lines. Such methods were discussed with regard to taxation by the late Auberon Herbert, who propagated the idea of voluntaryism: that those who cared for the objects to be paid from taxation should pay taxes, and others not. In other fields the rights of minorities not to be wiped out by majorities, but to have a voice in proportion to their numbers, begin to be recognized by the various schemes of proportional representation, etc. Economic movements of little advanced character once preceded the trade union movements, which to-day culminate in the large European organizations, accepting the revolution-

ary General Strike, etc., to destroy capitalism altogether. In a similar way these scattered efforts for exemption from law on the ground of a "conscientious objection," the opposition to compulsory taxation, the representation of minorities, etc., are yet extremely weak and inefficient movements, the first signs only of anti-State revolt, but they may be followed—if taken in hand by Anarchists and all who sympathize with them in this particular object—by larger movements more directly pointed against State-power and when, at the time of the economic revolution brought about by large masses of anti-capitalist workingmen, equally large masses will act as determined anti-Statists. This will be an efficient and the best possible means of building up and developing the new social organism on anti-governmental lines, approaching as near as possible to Anarchism and some day realizing it entirely. The undeveloped character of such movements at the present day must not deter us; on the contrary, it must rouse us to greater efforts to make up for time lost.

Our adversaries, the Social Democrats or State Socialists, have not neglected the political side to their movement. By their electoral organizations they are in contact with millions of people who do not fully share their ideas about Socialism, but look up to them as their future leaders, and are ready to accept a new system of government headed by Socialist leaders—something as deadly opposed to Anarchism as present governments are. If these millions were counter-balanced by other millions of anti-Statists of various degrees—or, better still, if the good sense of anti-Statist ideas would attract the greater part of these millions and other millions not yet aroused, then and then alone a coming change might bring us nearer to Anarchism than anybody now can imagine.

It might be said: Is not this anti-Statist propaganda carried on already by the revolutionary trade unionists such as those of the French confederation? It is, and so much the better, but only with regard to labor matters and anti-militarism; moreover, as the unions to be strong *must* comprehend workers of *all* shades of opinion, Anarchist propaganda, however desirable, cannot become general in them. But anti-State movements, such

as I am thinking of, would clearly and directly lead to this propaganda whilst they would be neutral as to economic theories, just as the anti-capitalist trade union movements are neutral as to political theories. Whilst these anti-government movements, awakening the latent desire for real freedom, would counteract the creation of a Socialist State, they would also counteract the possibility of a new labor rule which might arise from a victory of exclusive revolutionary trade unionism. In one word, it would be the effective weapon for Anarchism to obtain full elbow-room in the next coming society and, to a degree otherwise impossible, already in present society, if only efficient efforts are made.

It seems such a pity to me that the splendid idea of Anarchism should to such an extent lay barren to-day. The real reason is, I believe, that this idea was too early —at its very beginning—coupled with economic hypotheses, which for many soon became economic theories or doctrines. The obvious desire to prove the practicability of Anarchism—practical experience being impossible under existing conditions—led to the construction of economic utopias, and this tremendously narrowed the scope of Anarchist propaganda. The latter holds out the hope of greatest possible freedom with one hand, and with the other seems to take that freedom away by tying you down to an economic system—individualist, collectivist or communist. I say nothing against any of these systems; I ignore their working under real freedom, as everybody does, and whether I am sentimentally inclined toward this or that system is of no imporatnce whatsoever; I may also be able or may try to heap arguments in favor of my particular theory—what does it matter? Anarchism would be of small value if, to be realized, it were required that somebody should beforehand discover, out of the infinite field of economic possibilities, just *the one* which would be the only right one!

But, unfortunately, sectarian division predominates and if a newcomer wishes to learn Anarchism pure and simple, he has practically no place where to go—no group, no paper, no book—everywhere he is at once considered only as a possible convert to some particular economic doctrine. Might one not reject capitalism and work hard at its destruction, without professing to know

anything about future economics save that capitalism be excluded, and without preferring this or that new system, whilst they are all as yet untried? I know very well that the adherents of each system believe that *all* other systems will lead back to capitalism, and are, *therefore*, from the beginning, harmful and misleading; I believe this, too, personally, with regard to some; but I believe also in the recuperative power of freedom which will make up all this small loss, and if it is to stay at all, will not be overthrown by the failure of some economic experiments.

Everyone will act according to his inclinations, and in most Anarchists altruistic tendencies are so strong that they feel most inclined to help the workers in their economic struggle; hence revolutionary syndicalism. Others do not feel inclined to bring the sacrifice of direct Anarchist propaganda which syndicalist work requires. Some of these will also feel unable to listen to my suggestions, as they prefer direct Anarchist propaganda and action in any case. Those, however, who wish to emerge from the relative isolation of exclusively Anarchist propaganda and yet dislike to merge into syndicalism —it is to these I suggest to look out for fields of anti-law, anti-State action and propaganda as I have described them. Think how we looked on trade unionism fifteen years ago, and to what extent it has been possible to spread the idea of the General Strike and the coming economic revolution,—at any rate, among large numbers of trade unionists in several countries, France, etc. If the feeble and scattered Federalists, autonomists, and other anti-State and anti-law movements of to-day were similarly strengthened by the co-operation of Anarchists, and new movements created, in a few years' time the political strike and the coming abolition of State power would equally come to the front—why not make efforts in this direction?

It is useless to expect that all should ever reach an equal development. We need, therefore, not be angry at those who remain behind and might leave them alone, provided they leave us alone. Progressive movements cannot at the same time proceed and be burdened with the masses who lag behind. Therefore, some day—perhaps soon, perhaps only after centuries of undecided

struggles, just as ages ago centuries were wasted on undecided religious wars—it will be more generally recognized that various political and economic systems can exist side by side, just as to-day free thinkers live side by side with believers in hundreds of shades of religion. To make this possible each section must possess economic and political independence; whilst economic independence will be won for Anarchists either by the overthrow of capitalism and expropriation or by slow co-operation, political independence will be won either by the abolition of the State after a revolution, or by living outside of the State, side by side with it, as co-operation lives side by side with capitalism. The former means (expropriation, etc.) do not depend upon Anarchists alone; therefore they have no prospects to see their ideas fully realized in this way. The latter method (co-operation and political existence outside of the State) can be realized by Anarchists and their sympathizers alone, and as it could only strengthen the power of Anarchism, I do not see that it could do any harm to what some will call the more revolutionary method. Very seldom two bona fide methods exclude each other; usually they support each other, though this is not always seen—so strange is the fetish of unity, unification, etc., one of the many forms of authority.

We see every day more clearly how odious, insidious and infamous State power is; and, to be sure, large numbers of people see it as well whom our propaganda does not reach because it is so closely connected with economic doctrines which are nothing but hypotheses; this makes the friendliest inquirer sceptical. If, by the methods described—anti-Statist work on the broadest lines—we come into contact with all the latent enemies of the State and strive to win independence from the State (as long as people in general are not advanced enough to abolish it)—I feel we should do something which to-day is too much left undone: the work of political emancipation, the essential corollary of economic emancipation.

M. N.

London, Nov. 5, 1907.

A LETTER TO MOTHER EARTH

THE reporter on the "Situation in America" to the recent Amsterdam Congress has made a laudable effort to give the comrades abroad a glimpse of a "new tendency, which has been manifesting itself among the Jewish element" here. Unfortunately, that description (published in MOTHER EARTH for November) is (of necessity, I suppose) too brief to be enlightening, and it is not quite accurate besides.

Acting on the liberal principle of "hear the other side," I hope you will not refuse to publish the proposed Resolutions (a copy of which is herewith enclosed) which I presented for discussion at the Anarchist Conference here, and which contain a clear, though concise exposition of that "new"—but to my mind very important—tendency of Anarchism.

The suggestions and arguments were as follows:

(1) That the Anarchist Congress adopt a resolution declaring in explicit and unmistakable terms its abhorrence of the practice of assassination for the purpose of protest—the so-called "propaganda by deed."

Since Anarchist work and thought has been rightly or wrongly identified all over the world with political assassination and bomb-throwing, it is of paramount importance to take a firm stand against these truly reprehensible acts—unique in the history of mankind—as a method of spreading humanitarian ideas. These acts must be clearly distinguished from acts of tyrannicide, *in specific cases,* and from acts of resistance to oppression generally, which nowadays may need to be encouraged rather than discouraged; also from acts purporting to *avenge* crying wrongs, which are unavoidable and essentially unrelated to the teachings of Anarchism, revolutionary or otherwise.

(2) That the Anarchist Congress endeavor to perfect a plan of party organization, *sectional, national* and *international,* on the basis of a *declared membership* and *party responsibility.*

For this purpose it is of prime importance to issue a new declaration of clearly defined Anarchist principles, as

well as of the aims, remote and immediate, of Anarchist work—which should be *binding* on every one who chooses voluntarily to declare himself a member of the organization, and for whose political acts the party is morally responsible to the public.

Federalist principles and autonomous home-rule should be the basis of the general organization of the party, allowing free scope to each local group to do its local work, except in matters of general importance, when it should be expected to follow the decision of the party—to which every group gives its voluntary allegiance and from which it may at any time secede at will. And

(3) That the Anarchist Congress declare for pacific methods of propaganda generally (emphasizing the broad distinction between the Anarchist movement proper and the trade union or syndicalist movements with which Anarchists are in very strong sympathy), and specifically —*for the participation in the political life of the people.* Not, indeed, with any view of ultimately seizing the political power and decreeing the Anarchist society, but by taking advantage of the political issues of the day, or by creating new issues, solely to spread decentralizing principles of government and to counteract the manifest tendencies of State Socialism.

Since our work is primarily educational in character, and since the great social transformation contemplated by Anarchism can never be realized except through the process of evolution, it is clear that our office is that of the educator and not of the chastiser, that of the teacher, not of the hangman. The tyrant may be conspired against and removed; the despotic brood may be eradicated by the bomb of the patriot, but you cannot remove "the tyranny of the majority" by firearms. Our method of work must, therefore, be the evolutional method—superceding the old forms of life by the introduction of new ones—which is itself a process of incessant struggle between the forces of liberation and the forces of oppression. But the arena where the Anarchist battle may be fought and won is too extensive to be confined within the narrow limits of trade unionism; it must needs embrace the wide field of the social and political life of the people at large.

Dr. J. A. Maryson.

REPLY

Since Dr. Maryson wanted the Amsterdam Congress to act on his resolutions, it seems strange that he failed to submit them to the Congress, instead of sending them to MOTHER EARTH four months later.

Needless to say, our magazine will always maintain "the liberal principle of 'hear the other side.'" But as the majority of delegates to the Amsterdam Congress do not read English, it will do Dr. Maryson but poor service to have his resolutions in MOTHER EARTH.

True, the Doctor's resolutions were discussed at a small meeting (not at a representative conference) shortly before I left for Europe. But even there few of the comrades could see the logic of the resolutions or agree with Maryson's proposals.

It was suggested that I take them to the Congress. But as I was—and still am—absolutely opposed to them, I could not consistently represent the Doctor's views. Knowing that a five-cent stamp could carry Dr. Maryson's paper to the Congress, I did not wish to take it along.

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I hold that the Doctor's position is illogical and contradictory.

"The Anarchist Congress is to adopt a resolution declaring in explicit and unmistakable terms its abhorrence of the practice of assassination for the purpose of protest—the so-called propaganda by deed."

Well and good. But Doctor Maryson wants such acts "clearly distinguished from acts of tyrannicide, *in specific cases,* and from acts of resistance to oppression generally." That is, he wanted the Congress to exercise the power of decision as to what constitutes "tyrannicide, acts of resistance to oppression or acts purporting to avenge crying wrongs." The former, Dr. Maryson himself thinks, "nowadays may need to be encouraged rather than discouraged."

The doctor may be able to reconcile such inconsistency with his conception of Anarchism, but to expect it from an Anarchist Congress is, to say the least, very naïve.

I do not think that I mistake the conception of freedom or the judgment of the Amsterdam delegates when

I venture to say that not one of them would have assumed the right to decide when "the practice of assassination" is "for the purpose of protest," or when it is "tyrannicide," or "an act of resistance to oppression generally."

My contention is supported by the fact that the Congress *unanimously* accepted the suggestion of the American delegates that "the Congress declare itself in favor of the right of rebellion on the part of the *individual,* as well as on that of the masses; that all terrorist acts be considered from a psychological standpoint, being the result of the impression made on the individual by the terrible pressure of our social injustice."*

The second resolution of the Doctor was acted upon by the Congress, though the latter did not have the benefit of Mr. Maryson's suggestions. The International, based upon sectional, national and international relations, was formed. But the delegates were probably too Anarchistic to make their declarations "binding" for those willing to join the organization.

The third point was also touched upon, but hardly to the satisfaction of Doctor Maryson. The Congress has indeed discussed "specific methods," such as the participation of Anarchists in the syndicalist and anti-militarist agitation. As to "participation in the political life of the people," I am glad to say that herein, too, the delegates were too Anarchistic and too well aware of the corrupting influence of politics to advise such participation. Of course, Dr. Maryson does not want Anarchists to participate in politics "with any view of ultimately seizing the political power and decreeing the Anarchist society." Nor did the Social Democrats aim at that when they originally urged participation in politics. They, too, looked upon it as a means "of taking advantage of the political issues," etc. Where they have landed every one knows who is at all acquainted with the Social Democratic movement. Or does Dr. Maryson want us to believe that he, as Prime Minister à la MM. Millerand, Clemenceau and Briand, would act differently?

A political party, to be successful, must become *centralized.* Yet the Doctor would have us participate in

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*See Amsterdam Report, in October M. E.

politics "for the purpose of spreading *decentralizing* principles of government."

Indeed, we cannot "remove the tyranny of the majority by fire-arms." Nor by anything else, dear Doctor, if we are to become a political party.

"Our methods of work must be the evolutional method, superceding the old forms of life by the introduction of new ones." Exactly. But what are those new forms of life? Surely not participation in politics, which means the continuation of government, hence the *conserving of old forms.* Do not the new forms of life rather consist in the attempt to practically apply the ideas of Anarchism right now,—that we should not, for instance, try to enrich ourselves at the expense of others; nor seek the protection of government and hold government positions; nor to benighten our children in the public schools, cater to public opinion, tyrannize over and dictate to others, and bow to the existing standards of morality. It seems to me that *these* are the *new* forms of life, and that they will take the place of the old not by preaching or voting, but by living them.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

THE NECESSITY FOR TERRORISM IN RUSSIA

By KELLOGG DURLAND.

TERRORISM, in Russia, is a phase of warfare essential to the side of the people because of the peculiar circumstances under which the revolution is being conducted. The terrorist bears the same relation to the general movement that the skirmisher or the sharpshooter bears to a regular army.

It is not true that the Russian people "set an example" of murder and assassination. The arch murderers and wholesale assassins of Russia are to be found in the clique surrounding Nicholas II. and lesser minions in the police and military service throughout the country.

I know of no more cruel or absurd judgment than that so often passed in America condemning terroristic activity. Such censure is invariably based on profound and deplorable ignorance. Terrorism does not precipitate "rivers of blood." It dams these rivers, which have already been started by the officials of the government.

As well condemn the dynamiting of a building, or a block of buildings, to save a city threatened by fire, as to condemn the removal of one official to save the lives of hundreds.

Take Luchenovsky—a cruel, heartless, murderous official. Luchenovsky was responsible for the flogging of peasants, the burning of homes, and the grossest abuses of modern times. He allowed his Cossacks to take the young girls and women of the village for their sport. Sometimes the excessive bestialities of these men resulted in the death of the victims. Luchenovsky's whole administration was one of horror. One day a young girl of one and twenty—Marie Spiridonova by name—shot and killed Luchenovsky. Marie is now in the Akatui prison in Central Siberia, but Luchenovsky's successor is an enlightened, humane man, who, however much he upholds autocracy, at least is not a tyrannical, monstrous blood spiller.

Last year, in the city of Tiflis, there was a convention of women teachers, met to discuss educational methods, and to lay out a plan for an improved curriculum. A regiment of Cossacks suddenly appeared, and the Colonel ordered the break-up of the meeting, saying to his Cossacks, "These women are yours." The Government made no effort to punish or even rebuke this officer. Is it not a right thing to do to remove such a man? To make it impossible for him to repeat such an outrage to humanity? You who hold any woman dear—you answer.

One night I was in the city of Koutais, in the Caucasus. General Alikhanoff—"Bloody" Alikhanoff—was quartered in the town with his army of "pacification." My interpreter awoke me from a sound sleep to come and speak to a man who waited for me below. Hurriedly dressing, I went down stairs and met a young man of considerable intelligence who was in a tremendous state of nerve strain. Twelve soldiers had broken into his house just before midnight. They took turn about in pinioning him in a corner, while each one of the twelve successively raped his wife before his eyes. You American people who discountenance terrorism—what would you advise this man to do under the circumstances?

In June, 1906, I was in Bialystok. A pogrom had just been started. I saw women who were repeatedly raped

before the eyes of their husbands and their fathers. I saw a child, four years old, deliberately shot in the arm by a soldier. I saw a girl of twelve shot in the stomach. I saw a hospital that was deliberately fired upon by soldiers merely to create a panic among the patients. The local schoolmaster was killed by three gendarmes driving nails into his skull. The whole reason for the massacre was to terrify the population into submitting meekly to various governmental impositions. The massacre is a recognized weapon of the Russian government often used to shape political ends. By what standards of the eternal verities is it wrong to combat this kind of slaughter by removing the official or officials responsible?

In July I was in Warsaw. A man named Victor Green was chief of the Secret Police at the time. Green was ordering the arrests of hundreds of men and women, many of whom had never been implicated in anything. Green had tortures applied to these people to wring from them confessions—often of things they knew nothing about. He would have the hair pulled from their heads in small bunches, their teeth jerked out; he ordered men and women to be suspended by their wrists and beaten front and back in such a way that they became sick to their stomachs. These people were often absolutely innocent. The tortures ceased only when they admitted things they had not done (affording excuse for imprisonment or exile), or when they named some other person, who as frequently was equally innocent. A few months after my stay in Warsaw some one killed Victor Green. I don't know whether it was some one who had himself suffered, or whether it was a near one of some one whom he had injured. I do know this, that whether my ethical standards are right or wrong, I approved absolutely and entirely of the assassination of this man, because it ended—at least for a time—an era of torture in Warsaw prisons. What else, pray, is to be done to such a man?

"Hangman" Pavlov in the Baltic Provinces was picked off because of the long list of people—including many young boys and girls—whom he had hanged. Pavlov was guilty of many and terrible murders. His death shortened the death roll in his district.

General Min commanded the troops in Moscow.

After Moscow was entirely quiet, Min ordered the firing upon unarmed, defenceless people. Dubossoff, then Governor General of Moscow, had about 1,400 boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 18 dragged from the schools to Cossack barracks, then stripped of all their clothing and flogged. The boys received twelve strokes, and the girls four each. This mixture of sensuality and brutality seemed to tickle certain Moscow reactionaries greatly. If you don't kill men who do these things they will continue their tortures and their murders. To assassinate an Alikhanoff, a Pavlov, a Min, a Dubossoff, a Sergius, a von Plevhe is, to my mind, precisely like killing a rattlesnake that has crawled into a nursery, or stamping out a pest, or blowing up a building to stop the further spread of the flames.

Terrorism in Russia is not, save in rare instances, a blind or fanatical movement. It is an intellectual movement. The terrorists are always educated men and women, frequently university students or graduates. A terroristic victim is chosen carefully. His death is planned with great regard to the protection of the lives of people who may be near. The terrorist almost always pays greater heed to this than the Government ever does. The Government orders its soldiers to shoot and a swath of indiscriminate victims fall. Not so with the terrorists. The slayer of Grand Duke Sergius allowed five opportunities for getting his victim to go by, because the Grand Duchess Elizabeth was by his side, and her death was not desired.

Zinaida Konoplannikova, who shot General Min at Peterhof in August, sacrificed her own life to save the lives of some children. On a certain morning when the General left his home he was approached by Zinaida, who was accompanied by one comrade. She held a velvet work-bag in one hand. In the bag was a bomb; in her pocket was a Browning. Zinaida meant to do well her work. As she was on the point of passing the General and dropping the bomb, two children ran towards her and flung themselves at her skirts. She carefully raised the bag above their heads, and, turning to her comrade, said: "I cannot—the children." That same afternoon Zinaida waited for General Min near the railroad station. Again she carried the velvet work-bag, and in her

pocket the Browning. The station was almost deserted. She determined to use the bomb and attempt escape. The bomb would make sure her victim and occasion enough commotion to perhaps enable her to escape. But when the General appeared, he was accompanied by his wife and daughter. Like a flash she weighed the choice —the bomb would kill the General and the two women, but perhaps cover her escape. The revolver meant the General's death and her own. No other. There was no hesitancy. Her hand reached for the Browning, and General Min fell. As soldiers rushed upon her, she motioned them back, shouting, "Careful! Careful! This is a bomb!" The soldiers hesitated. Zinaida gently put down the bomb, and gave herself up. In the dead of night, September 10, 1906, in the grim and sinister courtyard of the famous Schlüsselburg fortress, Zinaida was hanged.

How many times have these "terrorists" shown similar care for the lives of the innocent. At least two or three lives were sacrificed during a Nationalist incident by the insistent daring of the "protecting party" in keeping the crowd of passersby back from the zone of fire.

The capture of Sobolow, known as "The Bear," a man whom I knew intimately, on the Nevsky Prospect in St. Petersburg, was beautifully characteristic. The Bear was five and twenty. He was more than six feet tall, deep-chested, light hair, small light beard, and deep blue eyes. The Bear was a leader in the Moscow insurrection of December, 1905. A spy, who had successfully played the rôle of a revolutionist, had arrested a number of the Moscow leaders. Sobolow had quit Moscow immediately after the insurrection and worked only in other places. Sobolow was the soul and spirit of a certain group of the Moscow and Petersburg Fighting Organization. During the year he had dressed differently than when he lived in Moscow. There he was a workman, wearing a blouse and a cap. In Petersburg he dressed as a fop, a coxcomb, an exquisite of the court. I knew him well, and was by no means unaffected by his gracious personality, his winning smile, his deep intensity. Ten months had passed since the Moscow affair. So many things had happened during those ten months that Sobolow had ceased to think of any danger from that

old affair. One bright afternoon, as he was hurrying along the Nevsky, a beggar, clad in utter rags, stuck a dirty hand in front of him and whined a pitiful plea—"A kopeck, sir, for Christ's sake!" Sobolow drew out his purse and handed the creature a coin. As he did so, the "beggar," who was scrutinizing the young man's features, emitted a shrill whistle, and Sobolow was pounced upon by spies. The "beggar" was the old Moscow provocateur. A day or two later Sobolow met the death of a soldier of the revolution. . . .

So much for the necessity for terrorism, for the methods of the terrorists, and the personnel of the terrorist ranks as gathered from these splendid examples.

One thing more. Terrorism in Russia is justified not alone on the basis of these specific individual examples. There is a broader foundation still. The Russian government is at war with its own people. Four-fifths of the Empire is under martial law. The army is maintained on a war basis. Therefore, as one of the phases of war—horrible, if you like, deplorable, perhaps—but as one of the aspects of war, terrorism must be viewed precisely as the shot of a scout is viewed, or a sharpshooter, and so long as this war continues, especially the nearer it approaches guerilla warfare, terrorism is not merely justified—it is a practical necessity.

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FERMÍN SALVOCHEA

By LE TRIMARDEUR.

THE international Anarchist movement—especially the revolutionary element of Spain—has lost one of its foremost representatives in Fermín Salvochea, who recently died at Cadiz.

Our deceased comrade belonged to the type of rebels of Elisèe Reclus and Louise Michel, whose magnificent personalities shine like bright stars on the revolutionary firmament.

Born in the seventies, of a rich bourgeois family, and endowed by nature with great talents, comrade Salvochea had all the chances for a successful career. His love of freedom and deep sympathy with suffering humanity, however, turned his attention to revolutionary

ideas and finally carried him into the Anarchist movement.

Cadiz, the city of his birth and death, has more than once played a historic rôle in the life of the Spanish people and their struggles for freedom.

It was at Cadiz, in 1812, that the then revolutionary Cortes proclaimed the famous constitution which legalized the uprising against the Napoleonic army. Again, it was Cadiz, whence Riégo, in 1820, marched to Madrid with his small army, forcing the tiger-king, Ferdinand VII, the protector of the Inquisition, to submit to constitutional government. Later, in 1868, Prim, Serrano and Topette organized a tremendous revolutionary movement at Cadiz that cost Isabel II. her throne, and established a federalist republic, the latter finally developing into Anarchist communes.

Cadiz and the entire province of Andalusia were ever in the past the centres of Anarchist activity; it was there also that Bakunin has sown the most fruitful seed.

In many of the heroic struggles of the past Fermín Salvochea took an active part. As mayor of Cadiz he headed the advance guard in the revolutionary campaign which ended disastrously at Cartagena, owing to the bombs used by the fiends of "order."

At that period Salvochea was still a follower of the radical Republicans. Pi y Margall, whose able translation of Proudhon's works acquainted the Spanish people with the ideas of Anarchism. Salvochea, however, was not one to be contented with mere reforms. He soon embraced Anarchism, becoming one of its most important exponents in Spain.

Needless to say, he speedily came in conflict with the authorities; incessant persecution and repeated imprisonment of our noble comrade were the result. More than once he was forced to escape from the "civilized" Spanish government to seek refuge in "barbaric" Morocco, where he always found welcome hospitality.

Rich in ideas and beauty of character, and therefore poor in worldly goods, Salvochea died after having devoted forty years to the struggle for humanity. Even the burgeois world, which he absolutely renounced, was compelled to pay a high tribute to the wonderful personality of Fermín Salvochea.

SAMUEL MAINWARING

By H. KELLY.

IN the death of "Sam" Mainwaring the English Anarchist movement has lost one of its most picturesque and devoted comrades. An old and tried worker in the Socialist League, he evolved from a revolutionary Socialist into an Anarchist Communist when the League split and disappeared, swallowed up by the Anarchist and Social Democratic parties. The friend and co-worker of William Morris, Mainwaring was not afraid of the logic of his position; while Morris accepted the philosophy of Anarchist Communism, but could not overcome his prejudice to the name, Mainwaring recognized the fitness of the name for his ideas and declared himself. A Welshman by birth, he possessed all the love of liberty characteristic of the inhabitants of that little country. He spent some years in America, but the greater part of his life was passed in London where he was for many years a familiar figure at Anarchist and revolutionary meetings. An engineer by trade, he was a skilled workman and had he been less of a man and more of a philistine he could have risen in time to the ranks of the bourgeoisie. Tom Mann once told the writer that he conceived a great deal of his admiration for "Sam" when the latter was his foreman: he was such a lovable man. As members of the "Freedom Group," with the Kropotkins, Marsh, Tcherkesov, A. Davies, Tchaykovsky, Cantwell, Marmol, Kull, Netlaw, Wess, Kahn, and others, "Sam" and his wife were regular attendants at the meetings of the "Freedom Discussion Society," held at Tom Mann's, five to eight years ago. With white heads and careworn faces they were a beautiful sight as in the evening of their lives they trudged back and forth to meetings where theories were discussed and ideas advocated to remold society and make life more beautiful. Soldier of freedom and friend of a great poet,—"Sam's" death was sublime. He fell dead while addressing a meeting of the unemployed, on Parliament Hill, at London, on the twenty-ninth of September, at the age of sixty-six. A lover of freedom, a man of intelligence and noble heart, his death is our great loss. Lost to us and the cause he loved, his memory will

long remain with us and in moments of depression at the slow progress of revolutionary ideas may we summon in imagination his white head, and eyes, glowing with the divine fire, to cheer us on our lonely way.

ARE THE I. W. W. STILL REVOLUTIONARY?

(Correspondence.)

IN the October MOTHER EARTH I note an article by comrade Emma Goldman on "The Situation in America," in which she is discussing the various phases of the labor movement in this country. Speaking of the Industrial Workers of the World, comrade Goldman acknowledges the fact that the organization of that body was "an attempt to put the labor movement of America upon a more rational, progressive and revolutionary basis." But she believes that "it is to be regretted that the new organization is not preserving its single-heartedness and concentrating all its energies in the struggle with capital. The efficiency and usefulness of the I. W. W.," comrade Goldman continues, "have been considerably impaired by internal strife, jealousy and legal litigation among themselves, as well as by the unenviable—and partly justified—reputation they have acquired as strike-breakers, taking the places of striking members of the American Federation of Labor. Petty political machinations on the part of one of the wings of the Socialist movement have further served to discredit the new organization."

I beg to differ with comrade Goldman on this question. The fact that there is internal strife in a labor organization does not necessarily mean that the organization is "not preserving its single-heartedness and concentrating all its energies in the struggle with capital." It means simply that there are some elements within that organization which are trying to disrupt it; elements that are found everywhere where workingmen combine for mutual aid and assistance. In every movement of this kind we find revolutionists and reactionists, and when these two forces clash, there must be a split.

The same thing has taken place within the I. W. W. This time it was the head of the organization who, by

his extravagance in handling the funds of the I. W. W. and his reactionary tactics, pretty nearly succeeded in disrupting that body. It was due to the efforts of a few men who realized the situation, that the organization was saved from destruction. They made a desperate attempt, and they succeeded. They deposed the "leader." Then followed the hiring of sluggers by Sherman, and finally the resort to capitalistic courts.

Some might claim that the action of the convention of 1906 was illegal, and that it was prompted by De Leon and his followers. To such criticism I would reply that in a crisis there is no question of "legality." It is the time for deeds. The decision of the convention was a most revolutionary action; it was the speediest and most effective way of ridding the organization from a parasite. (I am forced to use this strong expression to characterize a man who would bring in a bill charging twenty dollars a day for "incidental expenses.")

De Leon had nothing to do with the deposing of Sherman, directly or indirectly. Nor were all the men, who voted to dismiss Sherman, members of the S. L. P. But credit should be given De Leon and the *Daily People* —of which he is the editor—for their gallant fight after Sherman seized the office and the books. The Trautman faction—the rabble, as Sherman used to call them—were left without a single address of the unions. It was through the medium of the columns of the *Daily People* that the outside world learned the true facts in the case. At a time when every Socialist Party paper slandered the I. W. W. and called them a scab organization, the *Daily People* stood alone in the field, defending the revolutionists against the reactionists.

As to the other charge against the I. W. W., to the effect that they have acquired a reputation as strike-breakers in taking the places of striking members of the American Federation of Labor, that is also not correct. I'll cite an instance where the I. W. W. men walked out on strike simply to help an A. F. L. local to gain the same conditions that the I. W. W. men were getting. That was in the railroad strike between Beatty and Los Negas, Aug. 7th, 1907. The I. W. W. men were getting $4.50 per day, while the Brotherhood men were getting only $2.80. So the latter, after enlisting the aid of the

I. W. W., called a strike and gained the same scale paid to the I. W. W. men. On the other side, I will cite an instance where the A. F. L. have been scabbing on the members of the I. W. W. This was the case with the tinners and slaters of Youngstown, Ohio, in June, 1906, where members of the American Association of the Amalgamated Sheet and Metal Workers had taken the places of I. W. W. men who were striking. I will further cite an instance where members of the I. W. W., true to the interests of their fellow workers, went out on strike in sympathy with an A. F. L. union, and where another local of the A. F. L. refused to join the fight; technically they were scabbing. This was the case in Cleveland, Ohio, in May, 1906. The building laborers' local, affiliated with the A. F. L., went on strike for an eight-hour day and a wage increase from $1.75 to $2.00. As soon as the Bricklayers' Local Union No. 232, I. W. W., learned of the fact, they called out all I. W. W. men employed on jobs where members of the A. F. L. were on strike. They requested the Bricklayers' Local Union No. 5, affiliated with the A. F. L., to do the same. The latter promised, but failed to keep their promise. The employers offered the I. W. W. an increase of 10 cents and a contract for two years, if they would agree to withdraw from the fight. They were met with a flat refusal.

I could cite many more instances of this kind, but as space does not permit it, I will leave a more detailed account for another occasion.

Enough to say for the present that the organization of the I. W. W. has met in its infancy with many obstacles from the so-called Socialist press, and even from a part of the more radical publications. It is not justified, for instance, to call the organization an appendage of the S. L. P.* The fact that De Leon is active there does not mean that the I. W. W. are a fraction of the S. L. P. You might as well say that because of an Anarchist being active in the I. W. W., the latter are necessarily an Anarchist organization. The I. W. W. are not as revolutionary as some Anarchists think they

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* See "Observations and Comments," MOTHER EARTH, October, 1907, p. 299.

should be—but we Anarchists have not done much in that direction. The place to agitate for direct action and the General Strike is in the unions, not on the floor of a convention. We are not to capture conventions. Let us bring our ideas home to the people for action.

In conclusion I wish to say that it were advisable to investigate this movement before reaching final conclusions; and if we do so we shall find that, though the I. W. W. organization is not imbued with Anarchist views, it is, nevertheless, revolutionary.

JEAN SPIELMAN.

A PROTEST

As an Anarchist Communist, and a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, I remonstrate against the unfair treatment which I received by the editor of *The Industrial Bulletin,* the official organ of the I. W. W. I sent an Anarchist article against participation in legislative politics as such politics corrupt, waste and delay the labor movement. I wrote in favor of revolutionary propaganda, direct action, etc. Well, the editor, Mr. Edwards, put in a garbled version of my article and then he came out with a captious and misquoting editorial against the views of myself and Anarchist Communists in general. I wrote a second time to him, and against his editorial and against the pro-legislative views of a Socialist Labor party reactionary member of the I. W. W. I sent a stamp and directions to return my article if not printed. I have waited for about two months and the article was neither printed nor returned. Such treatment is curious, and to be expected of mere reformers and conventionalists. Official journals of bureaucratic bodies often give evidence of such intolerant, false and unprogressive methods, and it behooves every Anarchist worker to quit aiding the Socialist press by subscriptions, etc., and to help instead the only reliable revolutionary press and propaganda, that of Anarchist Communism. The duplicity, tyranny and reaction of Social Democrats and their doctrines can not be too much exposed. Social Democracy is only a bastard mixture of capitalistic tyranny and Anarchist freedom. We proletarians will not be satisfied with a mere middle class reform, for we

want a proletarian revolution. I know full well that almost all Social Democrats that I have met are contemptibly servile conventionalists, despite all their hypocritical claims of being revolutionists. Their respect, or neutrality, to law, authority, custom, officialdom, the marriage ceremony, theology, money checks, etc., brands them as mere reactionists. For awhile yet I will remain a member of the I. W. W., which attitude on my part is in accordance with the resolution of the International Anarchist Congress, which lately sat at Amsterdam, Holland, that Anarchists should remain with reactionary labor unions, but shall teach Anarchist syndicalist doctrine as they have done for several decades. Also I am influenced to stay with the I. W. W. for the reason that the late national convention of that organization didn't strengthen its legislative plank. I noticed that the aforesaid editor, Edwards, didn't put in the I. W. W. *Bulletin* the argument of comrade Caminita, editor of the Italian Anarchist organ of Paterson, N. J., against parliamentarism. The arguments of reactionaries like DeLeon, along with several more of his ilk, and only the mild argument of Axelson against them, show once more the unreliability and unfairness of an official organ to give the other side. Fellow proletarians, if you hate tyranny, servility and superstition, be what true revolutionists of the present age can only be, Anarchist rebels, and the future will bless you for not being benighted, hypocritical passivists.

T. P. LEHAN, in *The Demonstrator.*

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NEWSPAPERS

By VICTOR ROBINSON.

THOSE old-idead archetypal folks, facetiously known as "new thoughters," are gloriously gifted with gab, but have not been highly endowed with the bump of bashfulness. Whenever their feeble intellects seize an antique notion, which they ignorantly imagine to be nascent, they blab it forth—boldly, bawlingly, braggingly. All their shibboleths are sleazy, but here is the one which they most frequently sling at rationalists: "Whatever is, is right. God can take care of his world. Don't criticize. Cease knocking. Everything is the way

it should be—if doubting man only knew it! We live in a beautiful world. Have faith in the Lord and all will be well. O, infidelic man and woman, do you really think that the Almighty would permit a single mistake to exist for a single instant in his universe? Halleluiah! Rejoice! Be glad you're alive, and give thanks for all your manifold blessings. Sing a paean of joy. Shout for glory! Stop finding fault. Love everything. Get in tune with the infinite symphony. All is truth in God's world. There is no error. All is in its place. There is divinity in everything—recognize it! Don't be too analytical. Science leads many away from religion. Logic is a snare. Avoid reflection. This is a bright, beautiful, lovely, shining world. Praise ye the Lord! Praise ye the Lord!"

This is not my gospel. On the contrary, there are many things and there are many men that I would like to see either improved or abolished. At present the subject is newspapers.

As far as newspaperdom is concerned, we are living in the Dark Age of Journalism. The newspaper is a seeker of sensationalism and a yelper of yellowism. For seriousness it has no use, and all that is noble and worthy it touches only to smirch. The newspaper is a prostitute, selling her soul to the public, willing to pander to its lowest perversions, and ready to commit any abominations as long as the shekels come rolling in.

When a notorious crook wins a horse race, the papers announce the fact in page after page, while hundreds of illustrations ornament the tale, but when a comprehensive thinker finishes a system of philosophy, upon which he has worked a lifetime, they are as silent as the voiceless wives of the Cicadae.

When two college teams play a game of football, the papers devote columns to the affair, presenting photographs of the left tackle in motion, and a snap-shot of the captain in the act of punting, while the wonders of the whirling wedge are not forgotten, but when two thoughtful scientists enter the intellectual arena and discuss important problems, the yellow throats of the dailies are hushed.

When filthy politicians like Quay and Hanna died, the journals were full of them, but when a philosopher like

Spencer, a writer like Zola, a dramatist like Ibsen passed away, a puny paragraph related the event. Brief obituary notices announced the recent deaths of two such splendid social reformers as Ernest Crosby and Hugh Pentecost.

The chemist in his laboratory, the astronomer in the observatory, the zoologist in the jungle, the geologist on the mountain-side, the physician in his clinic, the artist in his studio, the editor in his sanctum, the professor at his chair, the teacher at his desk, the poet in his den—these are of little use to the newsmongers, but let a clergyman elope with one of his pretty parishioners, or a Senator be found in the boudoir of his wife's rival, or an actress divorce her twenty-seventh husband, or a chorus girl win the heart of a multi-millionaire, or a respectable Congressman forsake his family for a dimple, or a love-crazed youth shoot his scornful sweetheart, or a slick gentleman marry all the women of his acquaintance, or a rich heiress run away with her daddy's chauffeur, or a deserted pregnant woman commit suicide, or an octogenarian wed a lass of sweet sixteen, or a gallant protector choke his darling by the windpipe, and the hearsters are in their glory and the linotypers work overtime.

Almost every day our Yellow Yodelers puff such empty-headed degenerates as Beveridge and Depew, but they seldom, or never, refer to the few living illustrious Americans who redeem our country from shame and who are of more value to the world than all the platitudinous politicians who haunt the lobbies of Congress. There is rarely any mention of our best philosophic writer, Paul Carus; of our profoundest biologist, Jacques Loeb; of our foremost physician, Abraham Jacobi; of our greatest astronomer, Simon Newcomb; of our wonderful Jewish poet, Morris Rosenfeld; of our talented negro sociologist, DuBois; of our devoted Boswellian biographer, Horace Traubel; of our eminent anatomist, Burt G. Wilder; of our peerless opthalmologist, George M. Gould; of our venerable liberal, Charles B. Waite; of our leading historian, Hubert Howe Bancroft; of our excellent psychologist, Joseph Jastrow; of our superb scholar, Moncure Conway; etc.

But when it comes to fatuous fops, mewing ministers, respectable robbers and sputtering snollygosters, we are

informed of their private lives, of the poodles they pet, of the yachts they sail, of the volatile views that emerge from their encephalons, of the dinners they give, of the guests they invite, and of the gowns with which their female companions decorate themselves.

The newspaper is a compendium of crime. It aches for accidents—like an ambitious undertaker longs for stiffs. Has A. murdered B. for his money? Come, boys, get your six-inch type ready! Print it on the first page, in red ink, for all the world to see! It's great news! Has Col. Jack Astor's automobile crippled a little child? Hurrah—two columns at least! Has the President's mild-mannered bulldog chased a government clerk over the White House grounds? Extra! Extra! Just out! Extra! Extra! Has Swinburne written a new poem, all aglow with the burning genius of his youth? Faugh—that's not interesting. When he gets married or divorced, let us know and we will write him up.

The newspaper falsifies for pelf and lies for lucre. It is a gigantic garbage-can where dirt is daily dumped. Perhaps the newspaper claims that the public is her master, and that her only duty is to fulfill his desires.

O Harlot, wilt thou never leave thine impure bed and seek a cleaner profession?

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THE FLOWER-MAKER

By SADAKICHI HARTMANN.

HEAPS of violets lay all about the room. Common violets of coarse muslin, crudely cut and dyed. She had to make them by the thousand, receiving only a mere pittance for the bunch.

She was an expert hand at flower making, and although she had hardly ever seen flowers in natural bloom, she could fashion daisies, carnations, waterlilies and poppies to perfection. She had a knack for giving the right twist to grasses and fragile plants like the mistletoe and Scotch heather, and even to roses and orchids that look as though a breath would blow them away, her hands were able to lend style and character. But now was the slack season. The delicate little tool for crimping, the "guffer" for making the dents in imitation of natural flower petals, and

the creaser for making those almost invisible cross lines that lend finish to the petals, lay idle. Stiff muslin that could not be fringed and scalloped and artistically crumpled had taken the place of more pliable material.

She lived on the top story of a huge tenement house with cemented stairs and eight families on every tier. The room was as small and uninviting as all such apartments are, yet a vague air of refinement emanated from its frugal furnishing. Out of the windows, over the chimneys and housetops one could see a bit of the sky. Everything was neat and clean, and the white curtain in the sunlight lent the room a certain homelike appearance.

There she had sat all morning on a hot July day fitting in the little threadlike stamens and petals into the blossoms, and attaching them to the wired stems. Now she was resting from her work. She had moved the chair back from the table and looked with her large dark eyes at the man who was sitting at the edge of the table. He was an agent for some cheap perfume. He had knocked at her door, pushed in his way without a special invitation, and offered his ware. He was young, fairly well dressed, and what a girl of her class would call handsome, and as she was alone—her invalid mother having taken a trip to relatives—she had allowed herself to drift into a conversation. She was tired, and desirous of some short interruption.

Although he was an arrogant uncouth fellow, incapable of any tenderness of sentiment, she did not notice his vulgarity; on the contrary, unfamiliar with the flatteries of men, the attentions he bestowed upon her gave her a new and pleasant sensation. He spilt his bottle of sample perfume all over her, expressed his regret that the flowers she made had no odor, and that she herself was, after all, the most beautiful flower he could imagine. He praised her work, calling her an artist in her line, and expressed pity that she had to work so hard.

He was right in that. She had not only to attend to her flower making, but to the washing, cooking, clothes making and general house work. It was really too much for a young girl. She had endured so much; she needed sympathy, a little pleasure, to forget. There had never been anybody in her life who had taken an interest in her. She had just done her work, and when night came, over-

come with fatigue, she had fallen asleep. She had no time to have a fellow. She had never sat on a man's knee, and been fondled as all the other girl's in the street. So when this man feigned a liking for her, she believed him and poured forth the yearning of her soul in naïve frankness.

He was now sitting next to her. A cat could be seen walking lazily along the edge of the roof opposite. A breeze from the river played in the curtains. Timidly she touched his knee with hers. He looked at her with a curious look and placed his arm around her waist, never spanned before save by a girl, and kissed her. She could not resist. A lethargy had come over her. His force bewildered and blinded her. To her his voice had a sonorous roll, and his eye a rare magnetism. She did not know that it was merely her inexperience of that great natural force which sleeps in every woman like the fire of an extinct volcano.

The blood merged through her cheeks, her eyes glistened, and her body involuntarily advanced toward his. She felt the crude caresses of his hand. She feebly repulsed him for a moment, but when he became more vehement, she lost all consciousness and gave herself as frankly as only a woman can, whose passion is awakened for the first time.

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One dark afternoon several months later, she lay motionless on her little couch, her hands crossed upon her breast, and her hair tossed back over the pillows, like a drowned maiden that the sea of love after hours of storm had thrown, like driftwood, on a lonesome flower shore. Her breath was hardly perceptible, only her eyes—darker and deeper than ever before—were wide open, and on the lashes glistened a tear.

There she lay among her violets, having experienced a love that was artificial as they, those flowers that would still adorn so many women going through the same experience as she had done.

* * *

Many years afterwards I met her in one of the reception halls "along the line," and she told me the incident (although in other words) while we were eating a miserable repast in the subterranean dining-room of the estab-

lishment. She felt like indulging in old reminiscences. Although the beauty she might have once possessed had faded, there was still something in the glance of her eye which aroused my sympathy and assured me that she possessed something of a truly womanly nature.

Poor Stella, your bark of life did not glide, foam garlanded, on clear blue waters towards a land of happiness and love and dreams. Why regret it! We here on earth live all in eternal captivity, and long just for such moments of oblivion.

To some they come oftener, to others they seem to be barred forever. Who knows if those few hours, even though you yourself lent all the glamor to them, were not worth the vast stretches of nocturnal monotony in your life. You told me about riding through dark nights, with the seawind in your faces, you and he so near. Would you exchange those madcap excursions into the Nirvana of the senses for a life of accidental purity? No, you wouldn't, Stella. Let's have another bottle! I paid the Madam. Take this for yourself, dear. No, I can't stay to-night. So long!

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

FRANCE.

The radical and Socialist régime of M. Clemenceau continues its persecution of the leaders of the anti-militarist and syndicalist movements. Many people have recently been arrested and are now awaiting trial at Paris, Lyon, Brest, Cherbourg, Lorient, and other places. The fury of the government is directed especially against revolutionary publications, *La Guerre Sociale* having been indicted three times within two months.

Comrade Le Gall has been arrested at Breste for alleged incitement to "theft and robbery." The real purpose, of course, is to deprive the syndicalist movement of one of its most active workers.

A widespread campaign has been started in behalf of comrade Mahta, editor of *Libertaire,* who is being detained in prison during the last three months for counterfeiting. As a matter of fact, Matha is the victim of a police conspiracy. Some time ago a

little tool-box was left by a supposed workingman in the office of *Libertaire,* on the pretext that the man was without work or lodging. Shortly after the office was searched by detectives who "discovered" that the box contained an outfit for counterfeiting. Thereupon Matha was thrown into prison.

During the month of August, A. Armand, the editor of *L'Ére Nouvelle,* a literary magazine devoted to the discussion of Thoreau, Tolstoi and Ernest Crosby, was also imprisoned on the charge of counterfeiting.

Two workingmen, Lacombe and Filiâtre, were condemned *in contumaciam* to two years' imprisonment for the practice of *sabotage.* They had been dismissed from work without cause, their employers refusing to pay them off. Thereupon the workingmen returned to the shop and destroyed the unfinished products. They refused to appear before the court; instead, they sent a letter to the State Attorney explaining and defending their right of *sabotage.*

Governments have yet to learn that rebellious zeal and ardor cannot be suppressed by imprisonment. The latest proof of it was given by comrade Duclos on his release from the prison of Mont-de-Marsau, by immediately resuming his former revolutionary activity.

The fermentation now going on in the labor and antimilitarist movements shows how rapidly the ideas of Anarchism are gaining ground in France.

ITALY.

The workers of this country have again shown a beautiful example of energy and solidarity, at the same time proving the practicability of direct action.

Striking gas-workers at Milan were attacked by mounted soldiers, who killed two men and wounded many others. Thereupon the General Strike was declared, as a protest against governmental brutality. The workingmen did not wait for orders from "leaders" and strike committees; they quit work on their own initiative, inaugurating at once the General Strike, which spread over Turin, Parma, Ferrara, Bologna, Coma, and other cities, causing great panic in government circles. To soothe the strikers, several soldiers were placed under arrest. The bourgeois press clamored for rigid measures against labor, especially

against the railway men, who—though government employees— "dared" to join the strike.

It must be borne in mind that the recent law against which the railway workers made a noble, though unsuccessful, fight, provides for the dismissal of any man who remains away from work during twenty hours and also makes him liable to other punishment. Still, 4,000 men in Milan alone joined the strike and altogether 7,000 railway employees defied the law.

Our "brave" parliamentarian Socialists and professional trade unionists realized the danger of such defiance and straightway set to work to counteract the tide. The men declared themselves ready and willing for energetic action, but Socialistic machinations, aided by conservative trade unionism, prevailed. With seven to two votes the executive committee declared that the time "was not ripe" for a revolutionary move, such as the General Strike would have inevitably led to.

The railway employees then issued a manifesto, declaring that they had been betrayed by the Socialists and the trade union executive; they have also stated that they are considering the advisability of seceding from the Confedération (old unions).

The courts of Milan recently sentenced comrade Corridoni to six years' imprisonment for circulating antimilitarist literature. It is the first time that such a brutal sentence has been imposed for an "offence" of this sort. The cruelty of the government will not fail to bring forth revolutionary fruit.

PORTUGAL.

A bomb which exploded at the home of the Anarchist Rabadal, at Lisbon, while he was engaged in an experiment, resulted in a *razzia* upon our comrades, one hundred of whom have been arrested and thrown into prison.

Our contemporary *La Vita* was condemned to a fine of 50,000 Reis because it expressed sympathy with Morales, after his attempt on the life of the king. Owing to this exorbitant fine, the paper had to suspend.

GERMANY.

The conviction and sentence of Dr. Liebknecht to eighteen months' incarceration in a fortress has been followed by the condemnation of Paar, editor of *Der Freie*

Arbeiter. Our comrade has been sentenced to one year prison for "ridiculing" the army and "threatening the existing order."

Comrade Fritz Müller has been released from prison after an incarceration of eleven months. As editor of *Der Revolutionär* he was charged with the crime of disturbing poor Willie's peace of mind.

Comrade Zumpe was recently condemned in Berlin to six months for an article written by him for *Der Revolutionär.*

SWITZERLAND.

Two women Anarchists, Gelsomino and Noir, have been expelled from this country for their active participation in the General Strike. Noir was a native, but on the pretext of her being the wife of a Frenchman she was escorted to the frontier.

Comrades Amiquet and Navarrez, active in the syndicalist movement of Roman Switzerland, have been arrested for "incendiary" speeches. Extensive preparations are under way to form a monster demonstration of protest against the arrest and expulsion of the four above-named comrades.

AUSTRIA.

The stupidity of the bureaucracy has recently been glaringly demonstrated in the strike of the railway men: the latter so faithfully observed every one of the multitudinous rules and regulations of the service that transportation was completely paralyzed. The government then was forced to accede to the strikers' demands.

An anti-militarist conference at Prague was dispersed by the police. The initiators of the conference have been arrested.

HUNGARY.

Regardless of all police persecution Anarchism is fast spreading here. An Anarchist weekly, but six months in existence, has already reached a circulation of 3,000. The authorities have confiscated several numbers of the paper, but in spite of all obstacles our contemporary bravely continues its gallant fight.

SERVIA.

Comrade Krsta Zizwaritsh, editor of the weekly *Radnitshka Borba* (The Battle of Labor) has been sentenced

in Belgrad to fourteen months' prison for "insulting" the army.

HOLLAND.

The eighteen months' imprisonment of Jan Garter, the young man who refused military service, has expired.

Garter has paid the penalty of his courage and conviction, but he has proved that he is stronger than those who tried to force him into the occupation of wholesale slaughter.

The federation of the cigar and tobacco workers has issued a call to all workingmen employed in the tobacco industry to reorganize their old unions along syndicalist lines. They explain their action by the intolerable régime of Social Democratic politicians who have hitherto controlled their international body. It is also suggested that the new organization issue a call for a Congress to take place next summer.

RUSSIA.

European dailies have recently published statistics showing the terrible totals of the Tsar's victims. According to them, 2,381 persons were executed without trial or hearing; 3,891 were condemned to hard labor, 605 receiving life sentences and the rest a total of 29,523 years. All these horrors took place during the very years when Russia boasted a constitution and parliament.

But revolutionary activity in the land of the "Little Father" is still unabated. No wonder *The Union of the Russian People,* a rank reactionary sheet, laments the fact that such true defenders of the Tsar's régime as *The Union, The Russian Flag, Russia, The Bell* and *Novoye Vremya,* sell badly, and have not a fair chance as compared with the radical papers.

DENMARK.

The trial of thirteen anti-militarists took place at Copenhagen November 1st. Their "crime" consisted in distributing among soldiers the anti-militarist publication *Nyí* (the News). Of course, they were found guilty and condemned to prison.

After the State Attorney had finished his plea for conviction, one of the defendants, Fritzner, addressed the court as follows: "I have no intention of pleading for clemency; nor do I recognize your 'justice.' I stand

before a court of might, which to me is synonymous with the highest injustice. I do not speak to impress the Court, but to propagate our ideas, as I know that what I say here will be carried to the people at large."

Comrade Sophus Rasmussen, editor of *Skorpionen,* who had suffered much persecution at the hands of the police, was recently exiled to Sweden, owing to the expected visit to Denmark of the Tsar's mother.

As the presence of Rasmussen was vital to the continuation of his publication, our comrade returned home after a few days' absence. Unfortunately, the police got wind of his presence. His arrest was ordered, but Rasmussen resisted, killing one police officer and then committing suicide. Another noble victim added to the long list of governmental cruelty and persecution.

ARGENTINE.

Our contemporary, *La Protesta,* is still in the field in spite of all governmental attempts at suppression, and our movement is growing in spite of all persecution.

One of the most, if not the most, magnificent of strikes has recently terminated. The railway traffic of the whole republic was almost paralyzed, and it was a strike of pure solidarity on the part of all the railways but one.

The Argentine Great Western, which runs about eighty leagues from Mendoza in the Andes to the City of San Luis, refused to accede to the demands of the engine drivers. So they struck, and as the government and the other railway companies helped that one every way they could, the engine drivers of all the others also struck work, thus bringing the manager of the Great Western to his senses. Prices went up in the city of Buenos Ayres enormously. Meat and bread were already very scarce when the men's committee agreed to accept arbitration on a very favorable basis. There is a very extensive web of rails in this country (19 railways).

MEXICO.

The régime of Dictator Diaz is daily growing more outrageous. Recently the government adopted a new method of throttling labor organizations and making strikes impossible. The government declared that labor leaders and agitators advocating strikes will be deported to the island of Las Ores Marias, the Mexican Devil's Island.

A CORRECTION

Owing to a perhaps natural misunderstanding, it was stated in the American report to the Amsterdam Congress that I am a worker in the cause of Anarchist Communism. The report should have said Anarchism, simply, as I am not now, and never have been at any time, a Communist. I was for several years an individualist, but becoming convinced that a number of the fundamental propositions of individualistic economy would result in the destruction of equal liberty, I relinquished those beliefs. In doing so, however, I did not accept the proposed economy of Communism, which in some respects would entail the same result, destruction of equal freedom; always, of course, in my opinion, which I very willingly admit should not be weighed by others as of equal value with the opinions of those who make economy a thorough study, but which must, nevertheless, remain supreme with me. I am an Anarchist, simply, without economic label attached.

VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE.

ANENT MY LECTURE TOUR

Before starting on my next Western lecture tour, I will visit the States of Massachusetts and Connecticut, lecturing at

Brockton, Mass., December 8, 2 P. M.;
Lawrence, Mass., December 9, 8 P. M.;
Haverhill, Mass., December 10, 8 P. M.;
Lowell, Mass., December 11, 8 P. M., at Odd Fellows' Hall, 84 Middlesex Street;
Wooster, Mass., December 12, 8 P. M.;
Boston, Mass., December 13, 8 P. M.;
New Britain, Conn., December 15, 2 P. M., at Turner Hall, Arch Street;
Hartford, Conn., December 15, 8 P. M.;
Waterbury, Conn., December 16, 8 P. M.

Beginning January 5, 1908, I will tour the State of New York, opening with two lectures at Utica, January 5th, 2 P. M. and 8 P. M., at Turner Hall; Syracuse, January 6th and 7th; Rochester, January 8th to 12th (inclusive); Albany, January 13th and 14th.

I am also booked to lecture at Philadelphia, January 24th and 25th; Baltimore, January 26th; Washington, D. C., January 27th.

On February 13th, I shall begin my Western tour via Montreal, London (Ontario), Toronto and Cleveland, where dates have already been arranged for. I hope to hear soon from other cities along the line.

My subjects are as follows:

1. The Crisis: Its cause and remedy.
2. The Relation of Anarchism to Trade Unionism.
3. Direct Action as the logical Tactics of Anarchism.
4. Syndicalism—a New Phase of the Labor Struggle.
5. Woman under Anarchism.

I expect to add two or more subjects later on.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

P. S.—All my mail is to be addressed, as heretofore, to 210 E. 13th street, New York.

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* * *

NOTES

The paper read at the Amsterdam Congress on the "Situation in America," and the report of the proceedings at the Congress itself, are excellent propaganda material. We therefore offer the September, October and November issues of MOTHER EARTH—which contain the reports referred to—for the nominal sum of 10 cents per set of three numbers. We urge our readers to send in their orders at once.

* * *

We take occasion to call the attention of all those interested in radical literature that we have made arrangements to take subscriptions to MOTHER EARTH and "Eugenics" at the yearly price of $1.75 for both magazines. As the regular subscription price of "Eugenics" is now $1.50, we advise all sympathizers to take advantage of this offer.

LECTURES.

"The Revolutionary Spirit in the Modern Drama" will be the subject of comrade Emma Goldman's lecture before the Harlem Liberal Alliance, Friday, December 20th, 8 P. M., at Fraternity Hall, 100 W. 116th Street, corner Lenox.

On Wednesday, December 25th, 8 P. M., comrade Emma Goldman will lecture in German on "Direct Action as the Logical Tactics of Anarchism," at American Star Hall, Pitkin Avenue and Christopher Street, Brooklyn.

Comrade Alexander Berkman will lecture before the Group Weckruf, Friday, January 17, 1908, 8 P. M., at 83 Forsyth Street. Subject: "Anarchist Methods, True and False."

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Every Friday, 8.30 P. M., at Terrace Lyceum, 206 East Broadway.

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